

Message Text

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USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 2648

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, RO
SUBJ: NEW IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT FOR ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE

1. SUMMARY: IN ADDITION TO LONG-WINDED ECONOMIC AND
FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW, CEAUSESCU'S MARCH 28 SPEECH CON-
TAINED SIGNIFICANTLY NEW THEORETICAL ELABORATION OF
ROMANIAN THEME OF PARTY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.
IN ESSENCE, CEAUSESCU TOOK STAGE OF ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT AS BASIC FACTOR FOR ARGUING AGSINT
TEMPTATION TO PROMOTE SINGLE MODEL FOR ALL CP'S AS
WELL AS ALL STATES. END SUMMARY.

2. WINDING UP CEAUSEESCU'S 5-HOUR MARCH 28 SPEECH
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TO HIGH PARTY-STATE BODIES (OTHER ASPECTS OF SPEECH
BEING REPORTED SEPTELS) WAS ELABORATE THEORETICAL
STATEMENT--CURIOUSLY OUT-OF-PLACE IN POLICY-ORIENTED
ADDRESS--WHICH USED NEW TACK TO SUPPORT WELL-
ESTABLISHED ROMANIAN PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN
AFFAIRS OF CP'S OR THOSE OF OTHER STATES. HAVING SPENT
MAJOR PORTION OF SPEECH'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECTION OUT-

LINING POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIAN RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST, DEVELOPING, AND WESTERN CAPITALIST STATES, CEAUSESCU NOTED THAT EVERY STATE HAD UNIQUE ROAD IN ACHIEVING SOCIALISM WHICH SHOULD NOT BE DICTATED FROM OUTSIDE. DRAWING UNORTHODOX LENINIST DISTINCTION BETWEEN LESS ADVANCED AND MORE ADVANCED (RATHER THAN BETWEEN SOCIALIST AND NON-SOCIALIST) STATES, CEAUSESCU ARGUED THAT NEEDS OF LDC'S USUALLY REQUIRED UNIFYING FORCE OF A SINGLE NATIONAL MOVEMENT WHILE COMPLEXITY OF ADVANCED WESTERN SOCIETIES RESULTED NATURALLY IN POLITICAL PLURALISM AMONG "PROGRESSIVE FORCES." IN PURSUING POLICIES TOWARD DIVERSE GROUPS OF STATES, RCP (AND IMPLICITLY ALL CP'S) WAS CALLED TO RECOGNIZE DIFFERENCES IN DEVELOPMENT AND NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE SINGLE PRECONCEIVED NOTION OF PARTY BEHAVIOR OR INDIGENOUS CP'S OR ON OTHER ACCEPTABLE PROGRESSIVE PARTIES IN LDC'S.

3. COMMENT. THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF INTER-PARTY RELATIONS MENTIONS NEITHER ORTHODOX SOVIET VIEW OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT NOR ITS EUROCOMMUNIST ALTERNATIVE, BUT GIVES TACIT SUPPORT TO LATTER WITHIN WESTERN EUROPEAN CONTEXT. CONVERSELY, IF ADVANCED WEST IS JUSTIFIED IN ADOPTING PLURALIST PATH, LESS-ADVANCED COUNTRIES--WITH WHICH ROMANIA HAS INCREASINGLY IDENTIFIED ITSELF--CANNOT EXPECT EUROCOMMUNIST PLURALISM TO BE APPROPRIATE TO THEIR LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT (CEAUSESCU ALSO UNDOUBTEDLY HAD HIS RECENT AFRICAN HOSTS IN MIND). PROCEEDING FROM EXPERIENCE
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OF DEVASTATING EARTHQUAKE IN WHICH ROMANIA FELT COMPELLED TO ACCEPT ASSISTANCE FROM ALL QUARTERS CEAUSESCU'S CONCLUDING COMMENTS STAND AS RENEWED DECLARATION OF ROMANIA'S CONTINUED INDEPENDENCE BY GIVING REINFORCED IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT TO EACH PARTY'S UNIQUE DEVELOPMENT. IN ADDITION, WHILE REASSURING ORTHODOX LENINISTS THAT ROMANIA IS NOT ABOUT TO SLIP INTO WESTERN-STYLE PLURALISM, CEAUSESCU'S CONSTRUCT IMPLICITLY THOUGH PROBABLY INADVERTENTLY QUESTIONS WHETHER ECONOMICALLY ADVANCED COMMUNIST STATES LIKE EAST GERMANY OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA MIGHT NOT BE MORE APPROPRIATELY PLURALISTIC REGIMES.
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